



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Howell Cobb Papers

Edited by R. P. BROOKS, Ph.D.
University of Georgia

HOWELL COBB TO.....¹

Executive Department²

Milledgeville, February 2nd, 1852

I have this day appointed William M. Wadley, Superintendent of the Western and Atlantic Rail Road.

The law for the government and management of said Road confers upon the Superintendent the power of appointing all subordinates with my approval. I have delivered to the Superintendent the applications and recommendations made to me for these various offices, and have communicated to him my recommendations on these points.

Subordinates and discipline being indispensable to the proper management of this important work it is necessary that all subordinates on the Road should know and understand at the outset that they hold their offices by the appointment, and at the will of the Superintendent, and that I shall entertain no appeal from his decision, on questions of removal of subordinates. I shall look to the Superintendent for the faithful discharge by his subordinates of their respective duties, and for that reason, I give him unlimited power over them. I desire that this communication should be made to all persons, who are now or may hereafter be appointed by the Superintendent.

¹ Presumably a circular addressed to employees of the Western and Atlantic Railroad

² Executive Minutes, 1849-1855, p. 324.

HOWELL COBB TO GAZAWAY B. LAMAR¹Executive Department²

Milledgeville, 6th Feby. 1852

Dear Sir:—

You will perceive by the papers, that our loan was negotiated at a premium of from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $5\frac{1}{4}$ per centum—averaging 2 per cent on the whole amount. As a matter of course, you obtained more of it, at your bid.

I have now to negotiate five hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, of similar bond bearing an interest of six per cent and running for twenty years, unconditionally. My purpose is to negotiate these Bonds by the 1st of July and for them to bear date on that day. The law leaves it discretionary with me to make them (both principal and interest) payable at any place *in the United States*. I desire to hear from you on the propriety of making them payable in New York—and at the Bank of the Republic. I wish to know the advantages to accrue to the State by this arrangement in the negotiation of the Bonds, which will compensate us, for the trouble and expense of meeting their payments at that distance. I can see no advantage of much importance to the holder of our Bonds—that the principal should be payable in New York, though I can understand his anxiety for the payment of the Interest there on account of the frequency of the latter payments—and should much prefer to make the principal payable at the Treasury—and the interest payable in New York. Could not the negotiation be effected without advertising for sealed proposals, as the law does not require it? And upon what terms could I probably effect the sale of them? I might probably desire to negotiate portions of them at different periods—what effect would that have upon the amount of premiums? I will request of you, to give me all the information upon these points—and such others, as may be suggested to your mind—which it may be important that I should understand, be-

¹ A New York banker, formerly of Savannah, Ga.

² Executive Letter Book, 1847, pp. 219-220.

fore determining upon my course. There is one fact developed in the late bidding, to which I will call your attention—and ask your explanation of it. It is this. The bids of our own citizens and immediate neighbors were all higher than those from New York—now this would indicate that the *home market*, would be the best for our future sales.

As you may not be accurately advised of the fact, I will state to you, that the whole indebtedness of Georgia, *including the Bonds I now propose to negotiate*, will be only three millions and one or two hundred thousand dollars, and we own a Rail Road of one hundred and thirty miles—which is worth more than that amount—besides the vast resources of our State—which our last Legislature, by the passage of the ad valorem Tax bill, showed their willingness to tax, if necessary to meet the liabilities of the State. Why therefore should *any bonds* sell higher in the market than those of Georgia?

HOWELL COBB TO HIS WIFE

Washington City, March 2, 1852.

My dear Wife:

I reached here on yesterday and remain today, and shall then leave for New York. One of the Collins line of steamers is here, and goes on tomorrow to New York. I have been invited to go in her and shall probably do so, as it will take about the same time.

I have been much gratified with the reception I have met, from my old friends, it could not have possibly been more cordial and I believe they would be willing to make me President or anything else. This cordial welcome has been gall and wormwood to some of the fire eaters who see in it "the handwriting on the wall." I have not yet had time to look into matters to see how the political wires are being pulled, but I have seen enough to satisfy me that things will probably work well for the good and faithful followers of true democracy. I have put out a few feelers and already

see their workings. I cannot yet say how long I shall remain when I return from New York, but probably not more than a week.

HOWELL COBB TO GAZAWAY B. LAMAR

Executive Department,¹

Milledgeville, April 7, 1852.

Dear Sir:

The enclosed letter from Messrs. Corcoran & Riggs, contains, as you will see, a bid for our loan, which would realize to the State 3 per cent. premiums. There is evidently a better feeling in the money market for Georgia stock than you had expected there would be. The question is now presented whether I should negotiate on these terms or wait for bids. If the money market should continue favorable, it would be best to receive proposals, as there is no reason that our stock should be depressed; but an unfavorable change may take place and occasion a depression in all stocks. You can form a better opinion on that point than I can, and I wish your opinion upon it. If I could realize for the State 4 per cent. premium, I should be disposed to close the negotiation promptly, and from the enclosed letter of Messrs. Corcoran & Riggs, I believe it can be effected with their House.

I write today to Messrs. Corcoran & Riggs that I cannot give them an answer, till I hear from you. In the mean time if you can effect the negotiation with them on terms that will bring 4 per cent, to the State, over all expense of commission, etc., I prefer that it should be done.

I shall be anxious to hear from you, as our proposals should be published soon, if that course is deemed best.

The Bonds will soon be ready and will bear date the 1st of July next.

^a Executive Letter Book, 1847, p. 227.

I. S. FANNIN TO HOWELL COBB

Madison, Ga., April 11, 1852.

Dear Sir:

Having been appointed a delegate from this county to the Union Convention to assemble in Milledgeville on the 22nd instant, I thought it not improper to drop you a few lines giving you my views as to the policy I thought best with my reason for the same. And if it was not too much trouble I should like to hear from you (which would be confidential as a matter of course if you so desired it). You are more interested than anyone that I know of in the proper direction being given to things by our friends. If there should be a split of the Union party & we are driven to separate from the Whig portion at present, it will place a few of you I fear in the power of your enemies, because they are willing to act in concert with the rank & file & let by-gones be by-gones. But they are not willing to treat you particularly so. Because they look upon you as having headed the rebellion & desertion (as they term it). And like all men they would be willing only to compromise by killing or exiling the chief leader. That such is their feeling is manifest from the continued attacks through their presses at you whilst in the same articles their appeals are made to all others to unite with them, but it is not alone confined to their presses as I find upon conversing with them because they speak it out to me on all occasions that they will never forgive you, but all others they are willing to act with & forget that there ever has been any difference of opinion. Such a union on the part of your friends would be discreditable to them and destructive to you because it would be a tacit acknowledgement that we were the deserters from our cherished principles & not they. That *faux pas* at the opening of Congress in laying the resolution of Mr. Polk's on the table was the move that has placed us in the position we are in. And I must say it was scandalous treatment on the part of the compromise democrats to have placed us in the situation they have. The Whig Convention will either

nominate Mr. Fillmore or General Scott. It is evident from every move in the South that Mr. Fillmore will get the united vote of the Southern Whigs in their convention & with a few scattering votes from the north and west he will secure the nomination. And if he does do so, the Whig Union men in Georgia almost to a man will vote for him & in addition to that he will get a number of union democrats, as the feeling ran so high in the last canvass that numbers will not be disposed to unite with the Southern Right[s] democrats. If General Scott is nominated the Whigs will have no hesitancy in voting for the Baltimore nominee and especially if any of the men now spoken of is nominated. And this opposition is not alone as you know confined to Georgia but mostly to the entire South, and the Southern Whigs see that if Scott is nominated it will result in a disorganization of their party in the South in most of the states, & the consequence is they are appealing to their friends at the north to relieve them by the nomination of Fillmore, & to prevent a destruction of the party South may induce enough to vote for Fillmore with the united vote of the Southern states & a full delegation to secure his nomination. Then the question arises whether it is not the policy of the union democrats to favor the idea of not sending delegates to either convention. Because I am satisfied if we push the matter at present until they see at least the chances for Fillmore is lost a large number will not submit to it & should a difficulty occur they will be for sending delegates to Philadelphia, which will at least give Fillmore ten additional votes which he would not get otherwise & it may be the means of operating & influencing Alabama & Florida & Mississippi, which will greatly lessen the chances for Fillmore's nomination. It is true I would much prefer Fillmore to Scott, *but I prefer a democrat to either.* Because if we have any friends in the free states it is in the democratic party & and that is certainly the party that the South ought to sustain. As to the policy that might be pursued by Scott if elected there would not be a great deal of difference between him and Fillmore's policy, because both would be mainly

under the same influences, & it would be under the influence of the northern whigs. But the situation we occupy would be much more pleasant with Scott as the nominee than Fillmore; and if we can by any honorable means break off the Southern Whigs or a considerable portion of them from their northern allies, I think we will have greatly benefited the country. You are certainly much better posted up than I am, being much more conversant in these matters, & likewise with the advantages you have recently had by your association with those controlling and directing these matters. But I submit the question if it is not a hazardous experiment to you & the rest of our friends to urge the sending of delegates to Baltimore & especially when it seems to meet with so much opposition in the union whig ranks, and especially if it should be pushed so far as to cause an open rupture in the party. It strikes me it would most certainly place us at the mercy of our Southern Rights enemies. If the worst comes to the worst & the union whigs will vote for the whig nominee, being a democrat and with the rest of you I will vote with the Southern Rights democrats for the Baltimore nominee, if we cannot make a better arrangement. But I would prefer to see Scott nominated and the whole union party voting as a party for the Baltimore nominee. I am instructed to not favor the policy of sending delegates to either convention, and with the lights before me I think it the best course & the safest for us. But I am not very tenacious of my opinions. If I can see that I am wrong I am willing to yield. I am not looking forward for any promotion. But I feel an interest in my friends & am willing to shape my course to benefit them if I can do so without a sacrifice of principle. If it is not taxing you too much I should like to hear from you as to the course you think for the best for our friends. I am in hopes I may not weary you in reading this lengthy epistle, and I fear uninteresting letter, but I feel an anxiety more particularly that you should not be injured by the course you have pursued than anyone else. *Because I am satisfied that you were right and that it was the true policy.* If you have any hopes of a nomination

yourself, or desire anything in which I can benefit you, you are aware you can command my help. And if you think there is any prospect say so and I will favor your plans so far as I am able to do so.

W. C. COHEN TO HOWELL COBB

Savannah, Ga., April 29, 1852.

My dear Sir:

The division in the democratic party in this state, is, and has been, a source of deep regret to me; and I may refer to John E. Ward,¹ and others in proof of the assertion, that I have, so far as in me lay, thrown oil upon the troubled waters and sought to reconcile these differences. With these remarks, I approach the object of my letter. The recent appointment, by *a few gentlemen* assembled at Milledgeville, of delegates to Baltimore under the style of Union democrats, with special instructions, has caused me much reflection and uneasiness.² I have a strong desire that the *entire* democracy of this state, should be represented at Baltimore, but, will the Union democratic representatives be admitted in the convention under the circumstances; and if admitted, will it not be a precedent pregnant with dangerous results. I know you are in favor of their admission, and therefore in thus approaching you, I, at once shew my own sincerity, and confidence in you. I desire to state the difficulties that press on my mind: In the first place who created the Milledgeville Convention; what primary assemblies of the people appointed its members, their representatives; and what portion of the people, or what party are they authorized to bind? *It was clearly, a self constituted body.* Now can del-

¹ John E. Ward, of Savannah, President of the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati, 1856.

² The Constitutional Union party held its Convention at Milledgeville, Ga., April 22 and 23. The principal question was whether or not the party should send delegates to the Baltimore National Democratic Convention. The Whig wing of the party declined to concur in the wishes of the Democratic wing to send a representation; whereupon the convention adjourned without taking action. The Democratic members of the party then held another meeting and appointed delegates. The Constitutional Union party was a fusion of Whigs and Union Democrats effected in 1850 to work for the Compromise of 1850. The organization was disrupted because of disagreements between the two wings over issues arising in the presidential campaign of 1852. For a connected account of events, see R. P. Brooks, Howell Cobb and the Crisis of 1850, in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. IV, No. 3.

legates from such a body, not only claim admission into the National Democratic Convention, but in advance point out a course which the Convention *must* pursue, or its action will not be binding on them. I might amplify on this point, and adduce numberless instances, where both in religion, and politics the destiny of a sect, or party, or perhaps more properly speaking, its action, might be controlled by the admission of just such delegates into its counsels. These are some of the difficulties that weigh heavily on me, and I write to you, not as a partisan, but as one anxious to remove all difficulties, and to make our paths, "the paths of pleasantness and peace." My own experience has been that in no free country, can a third party exist for any length of time, though it may temporarily control the balance of power. The Constitutional Union party, therefore, having fulfilled its destiny by *directing* the action of the State, & binding its citizens on the great question of the Compromise, is virtually *functus officio*. All the candidates of the democratic party are sound upon the Compromise and particularly the fugitive slave law. What more should *Southern men* desire. It is however, well known that the National democracy, as a whole, is more reliable upon the Slavery question, than the Whigs, though there are many individual democrats perfectly unsound. We therefore, cannot expect unanimity on this question. I am not a man who would bend my principles for expediency sake. No man who knows me, would so charge me, but I deem it the part of wisdom to choose the lesser of two evils. Give me, therefore, the democratic party with *much soundness* and *little rottenness* rather than the Whig party which like Sodom of old has not good men enough to save it from destruction. If therefore you destroy the democratic National organization, or divide it you open the way for Whig success and all the rottenness of Whig rule.

I repeat, I have written you frankly, and shall be pleased to hear from you fully, at an early day. My letter is to be strictly private and confidential, and I shall so regard your answer.

JOHN W. H. UNDERWOOD¹ TO HOWELL COBB

My dear Sir: Rome, Ga., May 26, 1852.

..... There is nothing new here in the way of politics, many seem disposed to wait & see. I am not one of that number. I saw or thought I saw at an early day that the Union Party had organized on National Democratic principles & were democrats in everything but the name and that an adherence to principle must lead the Union Party of Georgia into the National Democratic organization unless principles were abandoned by one or the other. The National Democrats from the indications of sentiment as exhibited in their Convention stand firm upon their principles and it remains to be seen whether or not the Union Party of Georgia will do the same. The Union Democrats will do so, but from recent occurrence I distrust the Union Whigs. Judge Wright² is out openly denouncing Lumpkin³ & yourself; he thinks to beat Lumpkin by a Union of Union *Whigs & fire eaters*. Col. Akin⁴ is in an equivocal position, puts in too many ifs & ands, & saving clauses & talks too much in favor of Fillmore. Dr. Miller⁵ will stand firm & so will Johnson and Milner of Cass, and it is my honest judgment & the opinion of other good judges that the Democracy of Cherokee⁶ were never more closely united. Union men and Southern Rights have dismissed their former animosity and seem willing to act together cordially, & so the game of the Whig Union men will fail, & my prayer is that they may forever fail. I mean only those who have endeavored to thwart us in our late movement. Stephens and Davis are blotted out of my books, and I have waited as long on Toombs, about, as I can.

¹ T. W. H. Underwood, of Rome, Ga. In early life a Whig, but later a Democrat Member of Congress, 1859-1861. Associate Justice of Supreme Court of Georgia; member of President Arthur's tariff commission.

² Augustus R. Wright, of Rome, Ga. Judge of Superior Court, 1842; member of Congress, 1857-1859.

³ John H. Lumpkin, of Rome, Ga. A leading Democrat and close personal friend and political ally of Cobb's; member of Congress, 1843-1849.

⁴ Warren Akin, of Cartersville, Ga. Presidential Elector on Whig Ticket, 1840; Defeated as opposition candidate for Governor, 1859; member of Confederate States Congress.

⁵ Dr. H. V. M. Miller, a leading Whig politician. U. S. Senator for a short time in 1871. Division Surgeon in C. S. A.

⁶ I. e., Northwestern Georgia.

R. TOOMBS TO HOWELL COBB

Washington, D. C., June 10, 1852.

Dear Cobb:

As your old friend Ritchie¹ says "the skies are bright & brightening." The "Mutual Insurance Company" have been endorsed by the National Democracy—fire eaters have succumbed & free soilers have "flunked out," and the present prospect is that even the Whigs may take the dose. Whatever may become of us we have the satisfaction of seeing our principles triumphant & our bitterest opponents in both sections of the Union affirming our wisdom, our sagacity, and our patriotism. "This is glory enough" for all of our labors, had they been ten times as great. You & your friends are fully and thoroughly in line, the resolutions of Balto. on the Compromise are full, clear, and explicit, no honest Compromise man can object to them, & the candidate Genl. Pierce, I doubt not from what I can learn of him is a fair, great, upright & sound man without the least objection on the slavery issue. It is very true that I have but little confidence in the motives which induced the fire-eaters & free soilers to support the platform or the candidate, but the country has still the moral benefit of their forced position. It is not unlikely that if they miss what they consider their share of the spoils that both factions will unite to embarrass Pierce's administration should he be elected, but that only offers an additional reason for the sound men of the South to give him an energetic support.

The effect of this action with [the] Whig party has been very great. They now some of them offer to compromise & take the same resolutions, if the Southern Whigs will take Scott. I am urging them to stand by "men and principles" & not to yield an inch. If the Whig convention nominates Scott which now appears the most probable, either with or without resolutions, the great mass of the Southern Whigs will go into the support of Pierce & we shall have no trouble in Georgia or the South, but if they should have sound reso-

¹ Thomas Ritchie, editor The Union, leading Democrat newspaper in Washington, D. C., 1845-1849.

lutions, and put up an undoubtedly sound ticket, I fear that at the South we shall have much of the old divisions & distinctions, to which I am much averse. As a few days will tell all it is useless now to speculate, but I congratulate you upon the action of the Democracy at Balto. as in any event, it offers a sound basis for the union of the South & fully vindicates yourself & friends.

As soon as the Balto. Convention acts, I will write you fully and perhaps telegraph you to Macon.

My health is improving nicely.

JOHN B. LAMAR AND OTHERS, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL UNION PARTY¹

[August, 1852]

The Constiitutional Union Party of Georgia was organized to maintain the decision of the Georgia Convention of 1850, in favor of the finality of the Compromise. That object has been accomplished, and the members of the party have the satisfaction of realizing the complete triumph of their principles, as exhibited in the action of the two National Conventions, which recently assembled at Baltimore, and in the additional fact, that there now exists in Georgia no organized opposition to those principles. Under these circumstances, when the late Union Convention assembled in Milledgeville, it was the opinion of a large number of that body, that the time had arrived, when there should be a peaceful dissolution of the party, in consideration of the fact, that the necessity for its existence no longer continued. A different policy, however, was adopted under the delusive hope that the organization could be continued and its integrity preserved, by the support of the democratic nominees for President and Vice President. The convention had scarcely adjourned, when demonstrations of opposition to its action by the entire Union Whig Press of the State, indi-

¹ From a pamphlet among the Erwin papers. It is undated, but the dissolution of the Union Party was announced in August, 1852, some time after the 18th. The pamphlet has the following caption: "Address of the Executive Committee to the Constitutional Union Party of Georgia."

cated too clearly that that portion of the party whose sentiments and feelings were made known through these channels, were irconcilably opposed to the decision of the Convention, and would never yield even an acquiescence in its action. The call for the Convention of the 17th and 18th, and the response made to those calls by the Union Whigs throughout the State, and in some portions of the State approximating unanimity of sentiment among them, were well calculated to prepare the public mind for the recent action of these bodies. It cannot be disguised that the great mass of the whig party, have thus withdrawn themselves from the Union organization, and have laid the foundation for the re-organization of the whig party in our State, if indeed, that result may not be regarded as already consummated. This state of things leaves the Constitutional Union Party in the hands of the Union Democracy and those Union Whigs who are determined to give their votes and support to the National Democratic nominees. Whether there yet remains in the organization a majority or not of its original members, is a problem we will not attempt to solve. The mere expression of a doubt upon that point is sufficient to justify the course we have felt it our duty to pursue in the matter.

The undersigned were appointed an Executive Committee, by the late Union Convention, and from their position have not been inattentive observers of the events to which we have now called the public attention; nor have we failed to inform ourselves, as far as was practicable, of the views and opinions of those who still remain true to the action of the Union party. In view of these facts, and with the aid of all the lights at our command, we have come to the deliberate conclusion that the Constitutional Union Party is virtually and practically dissolved; and that its longer continuance would be delusive and productive of no good.

We make no argument, and offer no comment; but submit a plain statement of facts, with an unavoidable conclusion necessarily resulting from those facts.

In anticipation of this state of things, a correspondence

was opened with members of the Electoral Ticket put forth by the late Union Convention, and we feel ourselves authorized and do hereby withdraw that ticket.

JOHN B. LAMAR,
B. H. HILL
ARTHUR HOOD
NOEL B. KNIGHT
E. H. POTTLE
JOHN W. OWENS
GEORGE W. THOMAS
Central Executive Committee.

ADDRESS

Of a Portion of the Executive Committee to the Union Democracy and Union Whigs, friends of Pierce and King.

In common with the other members of the Executive Committee of the Constitutional Union Party, we have formally announced the dissolution of that party, and withdrawn its electoral ticket. This state of things presents an important question for the consideration and decision of the Union Democracy of the State, and those Union Whigs who stand identified with us in the support of the National Democratic Nominees. Determined to give our support to the election of Pierce and King and sincerely anxious so to cast our votes and exert our influence, as will best insure, not only their success in the present election, but the effective support of their administration, in the event of their election—a result not to be doubted—we are now called upon to consider in what manner this can be done, most consistent with our feelings and principles. It is not for us to decide that question; our official character ceased with the party whose organ we had been appointed. But identified in feeling and principle with those to whom we make this address, we feel anxious that there should be union and cordiality of action, in whatever course may be adopted. Indeed, this is necessary to give power and efficiency to our action. To secure the vote of Georgia to Pierce and King, over all opposition

arrayed against them is the paramount consideration. There can be no doubt that a very decided majority of the people are agreed in the necessity and propriety of so casting the vote of the State. But it cannot be disguised that there exist difficulties in the way of a warm and cordial co-operation of all the friends of Pierce and King, which threaten to weaken their strength, and lessen the moral power and influence which, under other circumstances, would be attained by united action. We do not regard these difficulties as insuperable, however formidable they may appear at the first glance. They will be found to grow smaller and less obstinate, as approached in the spirit of true patriotism and devotion to the great end sought to be accomplished.

We now appeal to the Union Democracy and those Union Whigs, who are for Pierce and King, to meet together in council, and there determine, in the spirit which we have sought to invoke, what ought to be, and shall be, our future course of policy. We suggest and propose that this meeting shall take place at Atlanta, ON SATURDAY THE 18TH OF SEPTEMBER next.

It will not be necessary to go through with the formality of county meetings. We doubt not that a sufficient number of our friends can be assembled there at that time, from the different sections of the State, familiar with the sentiments of the people on the subject, and as fully empowered to speak for them as they would be, if appointed by a county meeting, composed, as is usually the case, of a very few persons compared with the voters of the county who favor the movement.

By the time that this proposed meeting shall assemble we shall know in what spirit our movements for conciliation and compromise will be received by the friends and supporters of the Electoral Ticket now in the field. It will afford to them an opportunity of their meeting with our friends, either through the recognized organ of their party, or otherwise, and uniting, if needs be, in a common council, to effect a common end equally desirable to all sincere friends of the cause we are seeking to advance.

In any event, it is due to ourselves and to the success of our principles, and due to the position which we occupy before the country, that we should come together and determine upon such a line of policy as will most cordially unite our friends, and most certainly give advancement to our cause.

JOHN B. LAMAR
NOEL B. KNIGHT
ARTHUR HOOD
E. H. POTTLE
JOHN W. OWENS

ROBERT M. CHARLTON TO ELISHA WHITTLESY¹

Senate Chamber

August 17th 1852

Sir:

Governor Cobb instructs me to say, that believing from your letter to me, that the Resolution² of the Legislature of Georgia can be carried out, without the entire removal from the Monument, of the stone sent on by the late Governor Townes, he now desires that you will cause to be erased from that stone the words, "*The Constitution as it is—the Union as it was*"—if that can be done, without defacing in any way, the Arms, and Motto of the State of Georgia, inscribed thereon. If such erasure cannot be made without injury to the arms of Georgia, he asks that the whole stone be removed, and he will cause another to be furnished. The expense of complying with this request he desires to be made known to him, that it may be defrayed by the State of Georgia.

Copied from Executive Minutes, 1849-55, pp. 363-4.

"Whereas, Information has been received by the Members of this House, and is believed to be correct, that a block of marble was transmitted to the Washington Monument, by the late Governor of this State, as a donation from the State

¹ Whittlesy was the general agent of the Washington National Monument.

² The resolution reads as follows: (copy attached).

of Georgia, under and by virtue of a Resolution passed by the General Assembly, February, 1850, and that his Excellency caused to be inscribed upon the said block of marble, the following words: "The Constitution as it is. The Union as it was." And whereas, the said inscription does not truly express the sentiments of the people of Georgia, and is deemed an underserving tribute to the memory of the Father of his country—

Be it Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, That the Governor be and he is hereby authorized and requested to withdraw the said block of marble from the Washington Monument, and to cause another to be prepared of Georgia Marble, and to have inscribed thereon the Arms of the State of Georgia, and to have the same conveyed to Washington City, and placed at the disposal of the Building Committee of the National Monument to the Memory of Washington."

Copied from the Senate Journal, 1851, p. 335.

COBB JONES TO HOWELL COBB

Richmond, Va., Aug. 23, 1852.

My dear Cobb:

I have your glooming letter of the 19th. I am truly glad that you are not disheartened; that you will triumph I have no doubt, and that all will result in good is equally clear to my mind. I should feel very much mortified if Georgia should be lost to our candidates. I am anxious to have the South, in one unbroken column for Pierce and King. The result in North Carolina is glorious and the moral effect of that triumph will be tremendous. I may deceive myself, but I think the election of Pierce and King is as certain as any future event. Nothing but over confidence can injure us. There is one thing I regret you did not say in your letter; you did not give me your opinion of the result in your state; it is regarded here as certain beyond all contingences for Pierce and King. If there should be no election by the people do you know what the vote would be in the Legislature?

or is it in doubt? Everything this way looks well. I have just returned from New York and the aspect of affairs are as when you were there. All sorts of odds are offered in favor of our ticket, besides *Botts*¹ is certain of *Scott's* election. Anyone will bet against *Bott's* predictions, he is on a tour over the mountains. He says that Scott will carry Virginia, and I say we will give Pierce and King 20,000 majority at least. My opinion is that we can elect our candidates without either of the three states of Ohio, Penn. or New York. There is a total lack of excitement among the Whigs—The contrast between this canvass & that of 1848 is marked and decided. No one who went over the country in 1848 and 1852 can fail to discover the very great difference. I wish you would keep me informed of affairs that effect you personally, either by letter or papers. I have not seen your letter referred to, altho I have seen it alluded to. My wishes for your success is stronger than any other man's in this country, and of course everything that effects you is interesting to your sincere friend.

HOPKINS HOLSEY TO HOWELL COBB

Athens, Ga., Sept. 16, 1852.

Dear Sir:

I herewith enclose you an extract from an editorial of the *Columbus* (Ga.,) *Times* of the 7th inst., which shews that at the time the Southern Rights Convention in this state was called for the purpose of nominating a Presidential electoral ticket, the leaders who got up the movement *did not desire* the Union democrats to participate in the nomination. It was, therefore, not made *in good faith* by their own acknowledgement, but at a time when they calculated also with "mathematical certainty" that we would not attend the convntion. This confession may be made to tell with great effect in the contingency that a compromise ticket shall be refused by the other wing of the party. I request

¹ John M. Botts, member of Congress from Virginia, 1839-43; 1847-1849.

you to preserve this extract so that it can be returned to me for reference, if necessary in the future.

It is to be hoped, however, that a re-union of the democratic party upon the principle of mutual concession may take place at Atlanta, and prevent the necessity of referring to the past. In addition to the intelligence received by you on Wednesday evening last, that Mr. Gardner¹ had called a meeting of the Southern Rights Executive Committee at Atlanta on Saturday next, I have now to state the substance of a conversation with Mr. Wm. L. Mitchell² this morning in relation to the same subject. He stated to me that he had sent a proxy to Gardner to represent him at Atlanta, in order to secure a quorum of the committee so that they might be enabled to act. Upon my remarking that I thought an amicable arrangement of the ticket would be made, he replied that he believed "the right spirit pervaded the executive committee on his side." The call of their committee to meet at Atlanta—the pains taken to secure a quorum by proxy in order to enable them to act—the spirit manifested in the conversation above alluded to—all demonstrate beyond a doubt that the ticket can now be arranged, provided our friends present *a solid and unbroken phalanx in demanding it as a sine qua non* to re-union. Any division of consequence in our ranks, will soon be detected by the Argus eyes of the committee on the other side, and prevent the desired consummation. *Firmness and unanimity* among our friends, manifested indeed in a kind and conciliatory manner, will bear us out triumphantly in the great work of re-union. Already has the great point been gained of concentrating at Atlanta all the necessary elements of pacification. Both divisions of the party will be there in council, and if peace upon the ground of mutual participation in the ticket, shall not be the result, the responsibility will rest on the other side. They will undoubtedly attempt to convince us that we ought to yield our support to their ticket. But as they are invited by the letter of our executive committee to a work of

¹ James R. Gardner, editor of the (Augusta) Constitutional, a leading Southern Rights organ.

² Wm. L. Mitchell, a Whig, but a prominent disunionist on the issues of 1850.

"*conciliation and compromise*," if they finally refuse to meet us on that ground, they will lose caste before the country.

In a word our friends have only to be firm and united in their position in favor of a compromise ticket, and they will either prevail or have the morale of the Atlanta meeting entirely in their favor.³

Do me the favor of stating my position on this question to our friends. I cannot support the present ticket as it stands. It must be remodeled to secure my co-operation.

P. S. Neither Mitchell nor myself will be at Atlanta.

JAMES JACKSON¹ TO HOWELL COBB

Lawrenceville, [Ga.], Sept. 17th, 1852.

My dear Cousin:

It is out of the question for me to be at Atlanta tomorrow. I cannot get through my business here in time.

My *decided* opinion is against putting up any ticket of our own. It would be suicidal policy in any way in which I can view it, & if I were at Atlanta I would *earnestly oppose* such a policy.

My opinion is that all Democrats who may be in Atlanta should act together and appoint a committee to write an address to the friends of Pierce and King in the state, the leading idea of which address should be "everything for the cause, nothing for men." We must disarm the factious spirit of opposition on the part of our foes, not by a similar course of *faction*, but by true devotion to principles.

I should also appoint a committee to unite with the Executive Committee of the present organization in the call of a mass meeting when & where they pleased & submit the question of a modification of the ticket to the entire party so assembled and resolve to run the present ticket modified

³ The reconciliation meeting was duly held in Atlanta in September, but came to nothing, as the Southern Rights or radical element of the Democratic Party refused to make any concessions to the Unionist Democrats.

¹ James Jackson, a prominent Unionist Democrat and strong supporter of Cobb, of whom he was the law partner after 1865. Judge of Superior Court, 1846-1859; member of Congress, 1857-1861; Chief Justice of Supreme Court of Georgia, 1879-1887.

or not if a majority, so assembled declared in favor of such a policy.²

This course will strengthen us with the *masses* with whom *we must act* in future.

These people have the advantage of us now because the National Convention endorsed their organization. We must look to the future and shape our policy accordingly.

A meeting was held here on Wednesday of which Hutchins was chairman & resolutions for harmony were adopted by all present, both wings being represented.

I beg you by all means to do nothing looking to a separate organization & factious fight. We can make nothing out of it, & may lose all.

GEO. W. JONES TO HOWELL COBB

Washington, [D. C.], December 12, 1852.

Dear Cobb:

I have just read yours of the 7th inst. I have been thinking for several days past of writing to you, but, really, have not had anything to write about. I hear but precious little said as to what Genl. Pierce will [do] in the way of Cabinet making. And what little I do hear is mere suggestion, speculation or opinion, the offspring doubtless in most cases of the wishes of those who give utterance to them. Genl. Peaslee has been here from the commencement of the session, but I do not think that he knows what is to be done. Hibbard arrived today, I have not seen him, but suppose he knows just as little. I think it not at all unreasonable to suppose that General Pierce does not know what he will do himself. If he does, and is the man I supposed him to be he will at least have the prudence to keep his own counsels. He at least will save himself a world of trouble and harrass-

² After the disruption of the Constitutional Party earlier in the year, an effort was made to reconcile the unionist and radical wings of the Democratic Party, which would involve the withdrawal of one of the two Pierce and King electoral tickets. The unionists were eager to effect the reconciliation, but the radicals had managed to manoeuvre themselves into the position of sole regularity and refused to merge the two tickets by giving some of the places to the unionist candidates. After the Atlanta meeting of September 18, the unionists formally withdrew their ticket, but later a section of this element put out another ticket which polled about 6,000 votes. The radical ticket received about 39,000 votes.

ment by so doing. There are those however who profess to [know] exactly what he will do and who will [be] appointed or rather invited to positions in the Cabinet. Grund knows that either Caleb Cushing or John A. Dix will be invited to the State Department, while some I understand assert positively that whatever else has been or shall be done it is settled that Mr. Buchanan is to be Secretary of State and has been so advised. That there will be strong efforts made to prevent the appointment of any *Union Democrat* from the South to the head of the Department I do not doubt. But such efforts I feel must be abortive. General Pierce has too much good sense and understands the history and positions of men, factions and parties all over the country to adopt so suicidal a policy. In what does he differ from the Compromise Union Democrats of the South. If I understand him there is not one *iota* of difference. His position as I understand it is your and mine. And it is to the fact that it is so that he is indebted for his election and present position. But for the Union Democrats of the South there would have been no National Democratic party to have supported and elected Pierce President. And they are this day his truest and best, if not his only reliable friends in the South. And should he abandon them or exclude them from his confidence and counsels, he will find before the close of his administration that he had committed a fatal mistake.